582 612 /22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

582 583 If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the 557 582 reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view of their social standing.

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status, we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

582 The statement that the related group is endogamous signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship· /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

563 582 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 583 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 563 184 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 563 621 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the common language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

1:Chabot--80 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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| | Total Number of Registered Houses | Total Number of Individuals | Men | Women | Festive Marriages | Silariang Marriages | Married Couple Related to Each Other | Married Couple Not Related to Each Other | Average Number of Individuals per House | Place of Origin | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | Galesong | 7 |
| Kape | 25 | 133 | 80 | 53 | 27 | 1 | 19 | 9 | 5 1/3 | Lebakkang | 10 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Pangkadjene | 4 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Maros | 4 |
| Langa | 28 | 165 | 85 | 80 | 22 | 7 | 26 | 3 | 5.9 | Galesong | 28 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Lebakkang | 9 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Segeri | 2 |
| Pâria | 15 | 80 | 34 | 46 | 16 | 1 | 8 | 9 | 5 1/3 | Pangkadjene | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Maros | 2 |
| | | | | | | | | | | Djeneponto | 1 |
| Total 1949 | 68 | 378 | 199 | 179 | 65 | 9 | 53 | 21 | 5.56 | | |
| Bontoramba 1948 | 129 | 787 | 382 | 405 | 105 | 27 | 104 | 28 | 6.1 | | |

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen) present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits the clearest measurable evaluation.

583 The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an

[435]

1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/ circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens), but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction, a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat, round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood, whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding." That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time, for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

[659] The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case, the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

554 583 The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the level of the woman's group of relatives. Her standing and that of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

554 565 583 [643] In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

| | |
|---|---|
| kinsmen of the Prince | at 28 reals |
| for the adat community head | at 26 reals |
| for the latter's kinsmen | at 24 reals |
| for ordinary people | at 20 reals |
| for slaves belonging to the Prince | at 12 reals. |

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/88 cont./ It is interesting to see how this regulation was applied in practice. To this end, I examined the marriage registers of the adat community of Borongloë for 1946 and 1947 to trace the reasons that led to the establishment of a sunrang of 26, 24, or 22 (!) reals, where the parties seemed to have a right only to 24 and 20 reals, respectively. The result is as follows:

The sunrang of 26 reals, according to the regulation covering only the adat community head, was first paid on the occasion of the marriage between two descendants of the former head of the adat community of Bonto. Karaëng Bonto was, as recently as the beginning of this century, the head of a small, but more or less independent, adat community which subsequently became amalgamated with Borongloë. His descendants still have something of his standing. At present they live in Borongloë territory and therefore are unable to get a higher sunrang than the adat community head. Here it seems that they were permitted an equal sunrang. A sunrang of 26 reals was further paid at the wedding of a first cousin of the adat community head to the daughter of one of the head's followers of good standing. Twenty-four reals should have been the maximum here.

A sunrang of 24 reals, designated according to the particular regulation for kinsmen of the adat community head, was likewise paid, first, at the wedding of a daughter of one of the /89/ followers of this head, secondly, at the wedding of a sister of one of the kampong heads, thirdly, at the wedding of the daughter of a follower of a descendant of Karaëng Bonto, and fourthly, at a wedding between Buginese residing in Borongloë. The latter, to explain the fact that they wanted to see a sunrang of 24 reals registered, declared that in their own homeland they were entitled to a sunrang (Buginese: sompa) of 44 reals. A sunrang of 22 reals was finally conceded to a couple of strangers who declared that they received a sunrang higher than 20 reals in their own land.

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14,000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

567 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

665 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

565 /90 cont./ she was not allowed to receive 26 reals (!), but
583 this kin relationship was nevertheless sufficient to raise her
602 above the normal 20 reals. In the fifth case, the man was a kinsman of the Imam himself. It was an act of friendliness on the part of the bridegroom's kinsmen to offer the bride, who actually was regarded as lower, the sunrang customary in his group, because, in so doing, they showed that they accepted her completely as an equal (sunranna bura'ne naerang). In the sixth case, kin relationship with the ex-kapala of an adjoining kampong (Buttadidi) was given as the reason why 24 reals were paid, and in the last case, an aunt of the girl declared that a sunrang of 24 reals had always been customary in her kin group. The curious thing in this case was that this aunt herself had contracted a marriage by flight with a man who was regarded by her kinsmen as so much lower that they had never been willing to agree to a reconciliation (1).

1. For further elaboration of this case, see Chapter III, third part.

With the exception of this last-mentioned case, the first six marriages involved individuals of the Kapala group. It is not impossible that the marriage ties established by the Kapala with the kin group of the adat community head (2) constituted

2. A daughter of the Kapala married a kamanakang (French: neveu /nephew/) of the adat community head.

a reason for the Imam to record a sunrang of 24 reals in a number of cases for the kinsmen of this Kapala, against which he would have had objections in other cases. Finally, the adat community head is the one who must guard against the sunrang

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
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1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the
amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain
case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because
the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam
with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible.
He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a
higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this
would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his
kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

563 4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
583 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
631 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations.
It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own
sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22
or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this
and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the
principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the
highest sunrang.

554 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
583 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
659 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher
sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than
by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939
(before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals
was received, but when this head himself married fully a year
later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay
more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent
prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation,
the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he
would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals
was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
602

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

554 Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
578 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
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/93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this information of the Prince. He gives the list as it is fixed by him. But lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

582 602 In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

554 In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
581 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
582 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 565 /97 cont./ than those of their mother. The daughters are preferably married to someone in their father's group of relatives.

The position of the sons resulting from these marriages is difficult. By reason of their descent they are unable to marry daughters from their father's group. For a marriage they are dependent upon their mother's group. In practice, it appears [156] that they often conduct themselves as the wildest and boldest among the young men. It may well be that this conduct is unconscious in order to show themselves, at all costs, worthy of a girl of somewhat higher blood.

Karaëng call those who were born from such marriages ana'tjera' (literally, "blood children"), but the kampong people call them karaëng. The former is a denigrating term, the latter one of respect. Lower persons know people with karaëng blood who live in their kampong; the latter are regarded as slightly higher than those about them by virtue of their blood. Upon questioning, it appears, for instance, that their great-grandfather was a karaëng who married one of the women from the group of relatives residing there, that his son married a kinsman of his mother, and so on. The fact [583] that their grandfather (great-grandfather) was a karaëng is taken into account in determining the sunrang; the knowledge is kept alive.

/98/ Confusion is created if one calls the ana'tjera' an intermediate class. They do not form a related group occurring between the nobility and the people. It is merely a matter of individual cases having a tie in common with their father's group, the karaëng. They try to be taken into their father's group of relatives. Among themselves, however, they do not form an integrated group because, through the mother, they always belong to different groups of relatives. But whichever of the two groups they settle down with, their father's or their mother's, they are not regarded as equals by those around them.

178 /115 cont./ stated that they may not possess land, but only
567 that they do not need it because they are already being taken care of. Everyone knows that these people are free to move elsewhere to live and purchase or clear land. In several judicial proceedings it appeared that lower people were able to assert their rights against higher people.

178 3. In the above-mentioned regulation issued by the Prince
567 of Goa, which set the amount of the sunrang for different ranks
583 and classes in his realm, the sunrang for "the Prince's slaves" was fixed at 12 reals. No mention is made of other slaves. In the marriage register of the adat community of Borongloë, this sunrang for slaves was registered twice during the period from 1940 to 1949. However, they were not slaves of the Prince of Goa but slaves belonging to the adat community head and to a member of one of the prominent groups of relatives in kampong Pakatto, for whom the royal slaves' sunrang was entered.

4. Of a number of persons it may be said that they live with, and work for, their master. They have no land of their own. Their group of relatives comprises only a few families and is neither integrated nor traditional. They take part in the worship community of their master.

With these data before us, it is idle to debate whether someone is a slave or not, for example, because his parents were "slaves," and because a sunrang of 12 reals was paid for his marriage, but who, after all, is free to go wherever he likes, and has set up a trade in Macassar. While in his kampong he is still regarded as a hereditary slave because of his origin; in Macassar he is considered a clever tradesman.

178 The number of those who are regarded as slaves in their
567 own kampong is diminishing. No new slaves are being added to this number; rather it is decreasing. In some cases this process even came about /116/ through an official declaration of emancipation (sura' maradeka) issued by the master. This happened as late as 1939 in Mandar (1). In the majority of

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

571 Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
834 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
848 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
583 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

583 584 /150 cont./ "Please find what is good for me," And by "good" (badjika) is meant a normal marriage; "bad" (kodia) means marriage by flight. The older woman thereupon tries out the mother. Whether this couple will subsequently marry or not then further depends upon whether or not an agreement concerning marriage has been made with respect to one of the two.

584 834 When a marriage which she herself has desired comes about, the girl shows aversion to the man, as is expected of her. Externally, nothing distinguishes this marriage from one that has been contracted against her wishes.

583 584 558 626 When older people act against the wishes of the younger, and the young man urges a flight, the girl can consent to this. But if she refuses, he can get his way simply by making her siri'. In most cases the threat of siri' alone seems sufficient.

584 One who is unable to use an older woman as intermediary must find another way of establishing the desired contact with a girl. He may, for instance, seek out the company of her brother. He plays raga with him and goes with him to the movies (this example is derived from one of the kampongs [574] surrounding Macassar). In return /151/ his friend may ask him to stay and eat or sleep. If he keeps this up long enough, he may get an opportunity to attract the girl's attention, that is to say, to perform a service for the mother or run an errand for her, even though this reaches him through a third person.

His intentions do not remain entirely concealed. If her mother likes him, if no arrangements have been made regarding this daughter, and if the information gained concerning his kin group is not unfavorable, she may very briefly let her daughter be alone with him unnoticed. But she remains watchful. "Don't make me siri'," she says to her daughter.

584 834 When they are alone together, there is no immediate conversation, even less is there an immediate physical contact.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago, " "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese, " the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.
435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

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/162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which
● [583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

● [583] Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

[183] [illegible]he total number [illegible]rriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200, 000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage [184] of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

588 A description of such a wedding will follow here to describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

588 Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
848 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

● [583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

588 /229 cont./ case. The Imam therefore took into account
● [583] the possibility that the wali would withhold his consent for this reason. The consent was given nevertheless. That Rappung was a valued worker in the kin group was probably a factor of some influence on the decision. Thereupon, the Imam, in agreement with Rappung, set the day and hour for the wedding.

Just before the time agreed upon, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the woman was taken to the Imam's house. She went directly up the back stairs and waited in the woman's rooms. A little later, Rappung arrived in the company of his gurukampong and two of his kinsmen. Shortly thereafter the Imam's son-in-law also arrived. The latter was to act as witness together with the gurukampong. At the conclusion of the solemnity both received 0.25 gulden for their part in it.

212 588 805 The Imam produced the carefully locked-away registers and wrote in these with a pen especially filed for the writing of Makassarese letters. In so doing he asked the customary questions: "How old are you?" Rappung did not know. "How old were you at the fall of Goa?" (1) was one of the questions

1. 1905.

designed to help him find the answer. "One year!" "How old is Djawi?" At the fall of Goa she apparently had not yet been born. "How old was she at the time of the Spanish influenza epidemic?" (2) "At that time she was not around

2. 1919.

yet either." The Imam assumed that she was probably born shortly thereafter and, basing her age on that, entered it in the register. February 27, 1940 was recorded as the date of the marriage, although the marriage was performed on the evening of the 26th (nine o'clock in the evening).

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These ornaments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was probably the only native jurisdictional community on southern Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornamentships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature 644 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the 582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy 583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

[96 cont.]

M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

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B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings.

B [769 778]

B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 174] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by

2: Wilken--318 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Java OE1 Minang Kabau OD10 Borneo OC1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Ceram OH9
Makassar OG6 ● Roti OF14
Gorontalo OG4 Savu OF15
Sumba OF17 Batak OD5
Timor OF20 Buru OH8

[268 cont.]

I 582 174 We cannot discuss here the origin of marriage prohibitions in general or of the prohibition against marriage within the clan in particular. It is certain that with the establishment of individual marriage, it became customary among some to marry outside the clan, from which an extended marriage prohibition arose.

b. Bride Price

I 583 A characteristic of marriage among most of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago is the institution of bride price. What is understood by this is the custom that at marriage the bridegroom pays a certain amount of money, bride price or marriage portion, to the relatives of his bride. This institution is generally widespread among various peoples in various parts of the world. It is found with all forms of marriage, with exogamy as well as with endogamy, and in the latter case with patriarchal as well as matriarchal marriage. On Sumatra this institution is found among the Malays of the Palembang Highlands and Lowlands, in Benkulen, and among the Lampong under the name of djudjur or kulo. The Batak, too, know the word djudjur, but also tuhor and bolf. Among the Dajak it is called palaku, among the Makassarese [269] sunrang, among the Buginese sompa, among the Alfoer of the Minahasa roko or aroro, also harta; on Sumba, Timor, Savu, and Roti belis, on Ceram harta, and on Buru kaleli. ●583 This bride price is a true Malayo-Polynesian institution and is to be distinguished from the marriage portion, the mahr or mas kawin, of Mohammedan law. The difference is that the mahr is given to the bride herself, whereas the Malayo-Polynesian bride price is owed to her parents. On Java the mas kawin is also called sri kawin.

I 583 174 It is difficult to say anything with certainty about the origin of bride price. Many believe that in the beginning it must have been a purchase price with which the girl was bought from her parents. I do not believe that this was the case. This

BI [273 cont.]
585 because the blood relatives of the one abducted would then have the right to kill him.

The abduction of a girl against her will is found only on this island; everywhere else the merangkat type prevails. For
MK example, actual abduction occurs among the Makassarese. The
585 abductor only has to hurry to the sovereign to obtain ratification
583 or to have the marriage blessed by a priest for a payment of four reals = eight guilders, and furthermore to take the bride price to her [274] parents. He must see to it, however, that this is done in time, because the family of the girl has the right to kill him as long as this is not paid, at least if he is of the same rank or especially if he is inferior.

MM Abduction also occurs among the Dajak in the southeastern
585 division. If a young man has obtained the consent of his parents
583 to enter a marriage but is afraid of receiving a negative answer from the relatives of his beloved, he abducts her and then enters into negotiations over the bride price with the parents of the girl.

Among the inhabitants of the Ambonese islands, every marriage is preceded by an abduction. This is called lari-bini, "to run off with a woman," and involves the young daughter following the man voluntarily or running after him and going into hiding with him. The abductor must leave the bride price behind in the bedstead of his beloved to appease the wrath of her relatives. A few days later he visits the house of her parents to ask their pardon, and this concludes all the formalities. In contrast with the lari-bini, there is the minta-bini = to ask a woman, which, however, concerns only the daughters of regents and other prominent persons. Abduction is not an uncommon form of marriage among the Alfoer of Buru. If one is certain of the girl's
Bu affection, it is customary for him to abduct her and to hide with
583 her in the forest, during which time the bride price is negotiated. When this is settled, the young people return and the marriage
NG is concluded in the ordinary way. Abduction also occurs among
583 some Papuan tribes, for example, those of the southwest coast. When the young man has come to an agreement with a girl, they flee together into the forest. Both sets of parents then

New Guinea OJ1
Batak OD5
Borneo OC1
Ambon OH4
Makassar OG6

NG 583 Br Bt 583 [274 cont.] come to discuss the marriage and to settle the size of the bride price. Then the fugitives will be tracked down and the marriage concluded (1). On Sumatra [275] actual abduction is less general

1. Sal. Muller, Reizen en onderzoekingen, Vol. I, pp. 104-105.

Bt Br A I 583 as a form of marriage. It is practiced among the Batak, but as an exception, and, as among the Dajak, it takes place primarily when the young man is not sure of obtaining the consent of the girl's parents.

The general spread of abduction is shown by the above. In the adat, the customary law, abduction is a legal means of bringing about a marriage. Among a few peoples, first of all the Ambonese, it is the rule; among others, it is practiced only when a man, although certain of the affection of the girl, is not sure of obtaining the consent of her parents, as we have seen, for example, among the Dajak and Batak. There are other reasons, however, for preferring a marriage by abduction over one with a proper proposal, even when it is certain that the parents of the girl have no objections to the proposal. As a rule many formalities are connected with a marriage by proposal, which involve not only much time, but considerable expense. This is the case, for example, among the Balinese with the mapadik, and hence they practice the melagandong and merangkat more. We find it explicitly reported of the Makassarese that because of the cumbersome ceremonies at a marriage, at the celebration of a marriage with a proposal, they often resort to abduction.

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I 582 583 As I have said, abduction is permitted by the adat, and therefore the criminal code for the natives takes this fact into account. Art. 272, paragraph 2, threatens punishment for the abduction of underage girls, but in paragraph 3 declares that one is liable to prosecution only on the complaint of parents or guardians. Through this last provision the lawmaker has effectively covered the cases where the adat permits abduction. Where abduction is a lawful means of concluding a marriage,

this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

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Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f. 88 for upper classes and f. 20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f. 65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Frederícy's [i.e., H.J. Friederícy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

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Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

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562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
● 583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163